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177 trade articles. With the slump in the copra market after the
439 war, however, the import of these articles ceased as in many parts of the Pacific, and when I visited the group in 1934 the natives had regained much of their old economic independence. As the market price of copra has risen since then, trade articles have begun again to be imported.

178 Here is a native culture which, like many others in the South Seas, has gone through the throes of first contact with the western world and the economic depression and is well on its way toward making a new adjustment. What do we find on Kambara today? What has been the effect of the contact of two vastly different cultures, one simple, the other complex? On Kambara we meet individuals who represent the past, the present, and the future—from pious old Moto, whose father was a cannibal and warrior of the old order, to the alert and inquiring youths of the young generation who are building a new Fiji. Between age and youth lie a diversity of personalities, for there is a variation in temperament and intelligence akin to that found in a western community. Each individual reflects aspects of the great change affecting every phase of native life. By viewing these natives, their daily activities, their problems, satisfactions and fears, we gain a picture of life in this part of Fiji today. Their attitudes toward life mirror the diversity of influences, both from the old and from the new, which are moulding Fijian culture into a new form.

121 The aim of this study is to analyze the changes taking place in native life on Kambara, to try to understand the new culture which is emerging, and to apply this understanding as far as possible to the practical problems of colonial administration. How far is the change politically conditioned? What is the rôle of the colonial official in achieving a new, harmonious adjustment? Ethnologists have long been concerned with recording lengthy and technical descriptions of the lives of peoples who live in remote parts of the world, and in discussing theoretical implications. It is hoped that we have now reached

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133 the jungle and lagoon are peopled with spirits, frequently
361 hostile and malicious. Hence the two pairs of villages are isolated from each other. In the past they were frequently at war. Tokalau has long been the ranking village on the
621 west side and Tanggu ranking on the east. Today their
●178 antagonism is expressed in frequent quarrels and rivalry for
578 wealth and social prestige. These villages are not old. They are composed of aggregations of hamlets formerly located
[712] inland and protected by hill fortresses. In the middle of the nineteenth century, when the elimination of warfare due to the introduction of Christianity made protection unnecessary, several adjacent hamlets formed a village which retained the traditional jealousies and feuds of its constituents.

131 On a clear day seventeen islands are visible from the highest
133 point on Kambara, 470 feet above the sea. One can even
823 discern the reef of uninhabited Wangava, home of the spirits
776 of illness, about three miles to the northeast. Wangava is a limestone island, rich in timber, turtles, shellfish, and garden land. It belongs to the village of Tanggu on Kambara. To the southeast, about seven miles away, is the little uninhabited island of Marambo, home of the "windwomen", twin spirits who assume the form of beautiful maidens to disturb men in their sleep. Marambo was formed when the devil dropped the hearth stone from his canoe through the opening for the steering paddle. Here the men of Undu plant gardens and fish for lobster. And away to the northwest, a speck on the
131 horizon, is another Kambaran possession—the tiny uninhabited
133 island of Tavunasithi, owned by Tokalau. The nearest inhabited islands are Kambara's fertile colonies to the northwest,[1] Namuka of limestone and Komo of volcanic formation. The
[648] people of Kambara apparently acquired these islands by destroying the early inhabitants in warfare. According to the
[173] genealogies, Namuka was settled by colonists from the east side of Kambara, and Komo by colonists from the west side. Komo lies on the canoe route from Kambara to the large

[1] [Northeast according to map on page xxvi, category 116.—Analyst]

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B58 enforced between brothers and sisters and parallel cousins of
864 opposite sex. Apparently many girls as well as boys masturbate,
and young mothers who are nursing babies—and hence
[838] forbidden sexual intercourse—occasionally do so also. According to the girls themselves, homosexual relationships among girls are not rare. These relationships usually begin by imitation of other girls before a girl's first menstruation. Practically all married women on Kambara say they have had such relationships before marriage, but afterwards they discontinued them without difficulty.

882 From the age of eleven, however, girls are usually more or
[585] less guarded by their parents, for virginity at marriage is prized. A girl's virginity is usually tested on her wedding night by her husband's female relatives, and the next morning the results of the test are made public. Fear of ridicule and the anger of her husband's relatives when she marries prevent some girls from accepting lovers before marriage, which usually does not take place until a girl is at least eighteen years old. Moreover, virgins are afraid of being deflorated. They are not sure just how the act is accomplished although they have witnessed sexual intercourse.

836 There is considerable difference in the degree of pre-marital
178 freedom found on the various islands in southern Lau. The most powerful force acting against pre-marital freedom is the virginity test. Although this custom is not observed at every wedding in Lau it is the rule on conservative islands like Fulanga, where standards of morality are relatively strict. The Lauans, however, try to keep the custom secret from western visitors because of fear of disapproval and ridicule. In general, the native emphasis on chastity has tended to break down in relation to the degree of Tongan and western influence. Among the islands visited, the greatest freedom was found on Mothe, which lies at the trade cross-roads for canoe traffic in southern Lau, and which was formerly the point of departure of sailing canoes to Tonga.

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CHAPTER III

POLITICS AND POLICEMEN

539 GREAT BRITAIN TAKES COMMAND

Na vatu manawa, na vua i rama,
Yau talatala, vakaselotaki mana wangga,
Tambu wangga ko ira na kai Mathuata
Laki kele sara i matamatana.

Floating stones, the fruits of light,
Wonderful canoes welcomed by the murmuring breeze,
Chiefly canoes of the people of Mathuata
About to anchor at the mouth of the passage.

Ancient club dance, Fiji.

614 WE HAVE THUS SEEN how every Lauan child is born into his father's clan. It is as a member of his clan rather than an individual that he goes through life. Under the Lauan social system the patrilineal clan is the basic social unit. Each clan is controlled by a clan headman and is composed of two or three sub-clans. Each sub-clan consists of several households, usually made up of a man, his wife, his children and near relatives such as his parents.[17]

614 621 178 Before the introduction of Christianity each clan formed a hamlet, located in the bush or the garden land, and protected by a hill fortress. One of the most far-reaching effects of the introduction of Christianity was the elimination of warfare in the group. As soon as protection against enemy raids was no longer necessary, most of the hamlets moved down to the coast and consolidated into more convenient coast villages. Later, under colonial regulation village residence was made compulsory and hamlet dwellers were heavily fined. In re-

[17] For details concerning the social organization of Lau, see L. Thompson, "Southern Lau, Fiji, an Ethnography," op. cit.

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quiring the hamlets to consolidate into coast villages, which become the basic units of a new political system, the colonial government, while retaining the kinship structure of ranked clans in Lauan society, shifted the emphasis to some extent from kinship to geographic political groups. Although the basic allegiance of an individual is still toward his clan, a feeling of local village consciousness has developed and has led to the cooperation in communal enterprises of larger groups of individuals than heretofore. The expansion of the natives' social horizon has prepared the way for the acceptance of a broader view toward human relationships.

The British colonial policy in Fiji is based on the principle of indirect rule. Under this principle the old native system has been elaborated to accommodate the needs of colonial administration, but has retained its basic structure. Old political divisions have been retained and local native chiefs have been given colonial political appointments so that the native social system would be disturbed as little as possible. The governor of the colony and other ranking government officials have been placed above the high chiefs in the native ranking system. Over all is His Majesty the King. The political structure is still reinforced by old native ceremonies such as the presentation and exchange of gifts, kava drinking, and dancing. These ceremonies are used not only for native chiefs but also for British colonial officials.

The government of the colony is administered by a governor, who is assisted by an executive and a legislative council. The executive council consists of the governor as president, the colonial secretary, the attorney general, the colonial treasurer, the secretary for native affairs, and the secretary for Indian affairs, and two elected members. The legislative council consists of the governor as president, the colonial secretary, the colonial treasurer, the attorney general, the secretaries for Indian and native affairs, the directors of medical services, education, agriculture, public works, the comptroller of

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159 the genealogies of most of the clans on the island and could trace his clan genealogy back about ten generations.

159 Although highly respected as a personality, Tchosaia had lost prestige as an island chief on account of the newly created 558 political offices. He was in direct line of succession, but was 622 never installed as chief of Kambara because of the *mbuliship*, 178 according to informants. Formerly, the chief of an important island like Kambara received the first fruits of the harvest from the whole island. First fruits are no longer presented regularly on Kambara. When we were there, however, he received one-half of the first fruits of one village (Tokalau) only. The other half was presented to the highest government officer of the village, namely the village headman. This loss of prestige is keenly felt by Tchosaia, who is a reactionary. He is the only man on the island who does not attend the mission church.

159 To compensate for his diminishing power, Tchosaia has 756 become a prominent medicine man. He specializes in cases of "spirit possession" and "soul loss" (see page 129) and his cures are effected mainly by supernatural means. Hence he [774] is feared in the community, not only because of his chiefly "mana" but also because of his control of the spirit world. [187] When we had known Tchosaia some time he told us how he received his medicines. One night, when he was about fifty years of age, two of his ancestor gods appeared to him. They gave him "mana" and medicine to cure the sick. Since that time he has been a successful witch doctor.

159 The case of Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara, shows 554 how one individual has met the problems caused by changing 622 standards of prestige in Lau. A different type of adjustment has been made by the chief of Mothe. Although neither the chief nor a member of his clan holds the *mbuliship* on Mothe, the chief of Mothe has retained more prerogatives than has the chief of Kambara. He is still installed, according to the traditional ceremony of binding a piece of tapa about the

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177 of-Tokalau" and that of a clan (Nanggara) in Tanggu holds the title of "chief-of-Tanggu". These titles today are honorary, and we were unable to determine their former functions.

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631
178 When we consider the stratified, autocratic type of social organization found in Lau and other parts of Fiji, we must conclude that the British colonial administration used the only practical means of applying the principle of indirect rule in governing the natives. There was only one way to retain the basic structure of the native social system, and that was to take advantage of the hierarchy of ranked clans under the high chief, and dovetail the colonial administration to it. The rule of chiefs found in eastern Fiji fitted particularly well into the British political organization.

There is, however, a conflict between the two systems inasmuch as one is based on a combination of kinship and geographic groups, and the other on geographic groups only. One practical means of resolving this conflict was gradually to throw the emphasis in administration from kinship to geographical bonds. As we have seen, such a change was already taking place in Lau and other parts of Fiji. Such a change was also occurring in western and central Polynesia with the development of the island chiefdoms,[21] and was accelerated by the introduction of gunpowder and western military tactics. The administrative problem was to keep the process from being accelerated to the extent of causing irreparable injury to the native system. With the process went an increasing emphasis on personality rather than rank. One gained social prestige no longer mainly by birth into a kinship unit, but by personality or status in a geographic unit. Hence a gradual breakdown in the power of the chiefs whose power was based mainly on rank was unavoidable. The officials of the geographic unit depended to an increasing extent on personality. The administrative problem was to choose the

[21] See E. G. Burrows, "Breed and Border in Polynesia," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 41, 1939, pp. 1-21.

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native officials not only for ability but also for rank, in order to prevent this shift from taking place too rapidly. The success, therefore, of the system of indirect rule in Fiji lies mainly in the wise selection of native government officials.

GOSSIP HOLDS THE WHIP

Tukutuku e rongo malua
Rongo ki Viwa thatha vakambuka.

Only whisper a thing in Viwa
And it resounds like a roaring fire.
Fijian proverb.[22]

Social life on Kambara is still regulated by an elaborate code of etiquette based on rank. We have seen that this code is learned by children while they are very young and is strictly observed even today from about the age of seven years throughout life. The social sanction behind the code is public opinion. Being "talked about" is the one thing a native cannot stand. If he is ostracized even for a short time by the group he is so overwhelmed with shame that he cannot function.

I witnessed this force at work in Tokalau. One morning our native boy, Ravu, could not work, and he sat morosely with his head in his hands. Finally he told me his trouble. In courting a young widow in the village, Ravu, who was a handsome and charming youth, had incurred the displeasure of Malakai, who had warned him several times to leave the girl alone since she was to marry one of Malakai's relatives on Komo. Ravu had not heeded the warning. The night before Malakai had threatened to incite the young men of the village, who were always jealous of a competitor, to attack Ravu in a gang and whip him with stinging stripped coconut leaves. The affair was being talked about in the village and Ravu had lost face. He was so ashamed and frightened that he could not even eat until peace had been established with Malakai and he was accepted again by the community.

[22] A. B. Brewster, *Hill Tribes of Fiji*, Philadelphia, 1922, p. 259.

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As a matter of fact the natives do not tend to congregate in large numbers in commercial centers such as Suva and Levuka. They like to travel about the Fiji group and visit their relatives. Many of the young men leave their villages on labor contracts on copra plantations in Taveuni or other parts of Fiji for several years, but in time nearly all of them return to their own villages to settle and cultivate their lands. The majority of Fijians are peasant farmers who possess their own land, and cultivate only enough to provide for their food and a small surplus of copra or bananas to exchange for trade articles such as cloth, soap, tobacco, and kerosene which have become necessities. They can, through their own efforts, raise enough produce to cover their personal needs and taxes, usually about £2 a year, and practically nowhere is it necessary for a native to hire himself out by contract. When this is done it is usually to cover expenses which the community has incurred for the sake of increasing its social prestige or improving its resources —such as building a cutter or new water supply. In fact, in at least 50 per cent of the villages visited in Lau, practically all the young men between the ages of eighteen and thirty were away for a year on labor contracts, earning money to pay a debt incurred by the district. A few young men from southern Lau are employed as sailors aboard trade or government cutters. Their families live either in their home villages or in Suva.

Protection of the natives against competition with other racial groups in the modern economic system has its dangers as well as its advantages. Just as the elimination of warfare has tended to sap vitality from the culture, so also shielding the people from the economic struggle, which would otherwise destroy them, has tended to weaken them. The natives are inclined to become lazy and self-pitying. In the Lau islands, for instance, there is a definite distaste for work on the land, especially among the nobles. This is due partly to a traditional prejudice, and partly also to the very real difficulties of

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working the soil. It tends, however, to discourage attempts to improve gardening technics and it also tends to keep the population at subsistence level. Instead of devising ways of acquiring a surplus of food, by means of production or trade, to be fermented and stored against drought or hurricane, the natives feel they need not bother since the government will come to their aid with rice and flour in case of hurricane or famine. Hence the chief administrative problem regarding the land in southern Lau is how to stimulate interest and initiative in cultivating the soil. This problem will be discussed in the next section and in Chapter VII.

In parts of Fiji desirable for settlement, the government policy of protection of native lands has made possible the development of a class of native landlords who live idly off the rents from their lands. It has also had a marked effect on the economic development of the colony, for many native owners of commercially valuable land refuse to lease any of their holdings, even though they actually use but a small part for their gardens or plantations. The difficulties of acquiring land for settlement have been so great that they have actually discouraged or prevented settlement.

The deadlock over land in Fiji has been the serious concern of the administration for many years. In an attempt to meet the problem the great council of chiefs, which met in 1936, passed the following resolution: "That in the opinion of this Council it is to the best interests of the native race that all lands (including leases) not required for the maintenance of the Fijian owners be opened for settlement; that to further this end a committee be appointed to inquire into and determine the amount of land needed for the proper development by the native owners; and that all land (including leases) not so required be handed over to the government to lease on behalf of the Fijians."[33]

The acceptance of this recommendation by the legislative

[33] *Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 59.

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656 431 439 and large ceremonial exchanges were discouraged. The exchange of property between related groups and the amount of tribute which a chief might extract from his people were limited by regulation.

178 656 431 439 These regulations have, of course, proved largely unsuccessful since the abuses they attempt to correct lie deep-rooted in the native economic system. Such rules cannot bridge the wide gap between western competitive capitalism based on money and credit, which emphasizes the accumulation of wealth by the individual, and native competitive communalism, which emphasizes the distribution of wealth by the group. They have, however, had unexpected results. The attempt to limit the exchange of goods between related groups has resulted in sapping vitality from the economic life. Distribution by competitive exchanges between related clans or villages, with its accompanying ceremonies and feasts, is a necessary stimulus to production under the native system. Moreover, instead of being curtailed, the soliciting of western trade goods has been extended outside the boundaries of the related group. Whereas formerly a man solicited only from his relatives, now he solicits trade goods from whomsoever he pleases. The effect of the limitation of tribute has been to cause the people to question the demands of their chiefs and to pay only the barest minimum. It has directly undermined the authority of the chiefs.

439 245 The development of western economy in southern Lau, as in many parts of Fiji, is closely linked with the rise of the copra trade. Between 1900 and 1920 the market price of copra rose from £9 to £25 per ton, chiefly because of the increasing demands for coconut oil in the manufacture of vegetable butter and good quality soaps. The industry in Fiji expanded rapidly, the number and area of the coconut plantations increased, and the production of copra in the colony practically

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doubled.[37] This commercial development had a strong effect on the southern Lau islands where the soil is particularly suited to the growth of coconuts.

The systematic production of coconuts in southern Lau began during the Tongan regime when the Tongan chiefs exacted tribute from the Lauans in the form of large quantities of perfumed coconut oil, which was shipped by canoe to Tonga. With the rise in the price of copra these plantations began to be used commercially, and their area was increased until they covered much of the available coconut land in southern Lau. Trade stores sprang up on all islands. They were run by Chinese or European traders, who exchanged copra for cash, or for western trade goods such as metal tools, cloth, soap, kerosene, matches, tobacco, tinned beef, rice, flour, sugar, mosquito nets, chairs, and even "Singer" sewing machines. In the southern islands, where no land has been alienated, the copra industry remained in the hands of the natives. Each clan supplied labor for its own plantations, and as the natives began to acquire a taste for western goods, the men, women, and children worked on the plantations.

The sudden wave of material prosperity had a serious effect on native life. Gardens, fishing, crafts, and native trade were

[37] The development of the copra industry in Fiji by four year periods since 1877 is as follows:

Period	*Total copra shipped* (tons)	*Total value* (£)	*Value per ton* (£. s. d.)
1877-81	33,474	457,776	13. 13. 6
1882-86	27,782	312,213	11. 4. 9
1887-91	22,322	195,056	8. 14. 9
1892-96	34,827	309,543	8. 10. 11
1897-01	50,571	492,603	9. 14. 10
1902-06	50,083	621,799	12. 8. 3
1907-11	69,884	1,122,976	16. 1. 3
1912-16	60,040	1,057,058	17. 12. 1
1917-21	91,193	2,294,517	25. 3. 3
1922-26	121,286	2,345,205	19. 6. 8
1927-31	128,532	2,212,958	17. 4. 4
1932-35	87,280	714,447	8. 3. 11

(*Handbook of Fiji*, 1937, p. 73.)

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439 neglected, and the natives began to buy food from the store.
245 The native culture began to break down. The trade cutter
178 almost completely replaced the sailing canoe, and during this period the large double war canoe disappeared. The art of pottery making by the Levuka women of Lakemba[38] fell into disuse as native clay pots were displaced by large imported metal ones. The technic of making fish hooks was lost, and imported paraphernalia such as lines, nets, and ropes were used instead of native products. Iron roofs appeared on the houses of the most prosperous natives, and even a few small metal tanks were used to catch the rain water from them.

[554] A factor of great significance in the decline of native material culture during this period was the social prestige attached to all imported articles. Everyone strove to buy as much as possible from the store, and the number of imported articles which a group possessed was limited only by its ability to pay the price in copra. Clothes, iron roofs, canned food, and metal tools all became the means by which a person might raise his status in the community.

464 At this time native labor was in great demand, especially
177 on copra plantations in many parts of Fiji, and large numbers of young men from the southern islands left their villages under contract to work for periods of a year or more. While away the young men came under greater western influence than had penetrated to the isolated southern islands, and when they returned they brought not only new goods and money but also new ideas. The loss of the young men of the village not only cut the available supply of labor but also upset the balance of sexes in the villages. It led to the post-

[161] ponement of the marriage age of the young people. In spite of this factor the population of Lau began to increase.

439 As in many parts of the South Seas, the period of prosperity
245 in Fiji ended abruptly with the slump in the price of copra
435 after the world war. Largely because of overproduction and

[38] L. Thompson, "The Pottery of the Lau Islands, Fiji," op. cit.

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competition with the whale oil industry, the market price of copra fell from £25 to £8 per ton between 1920 and 1935.[39]

Copra production was also severely curtailed in the early 20's by the spread of the purple moth (*Levuana iridescens*) from Viti Levu, where it had been known for at least sixty years, to Ovalau, and thence to many parts of Fiji including the Lau islands. The colonial government introduced a two-winged parasitic fly (*Ptychomyia remota*) from the Federated Malay States, which by 1929 had brought the pest under control and by 1936 had caused its almost complete extinction. Moreover, plantations were attacked by the coconut scale (*Aspidiotus destructa*), which is being successfully combated by a coccinellid beetle imported by the government from Java.

The great depression that struck the western world in 1929 did not affect Lau until 1931, but in that year the demand for copra fell away sharply. Communication with the outside world practically ceased, and most of the trade stores were abandoned. The natives suddenly found themselves deprived of the easy means of obtaining western trade goods on which they had become dependent. Their only recourse was to their old life. Neglected gardens were cleared and replanted, native crafts were revived, and inter-island trade was resumed. The southern island once more became the center of canoe building, woodwork, barkcloth, and mat making in Fiji. Involuntarily

[39] Annual copra exports from the colony since 1922 are shown in the following table:

Year	*Quantity* tons	*Total value* (£)	*Year*	*Quantity* tons	*Total value* (£)
1922	21,987		1930	23,882	369,524
1923	24,161		1931	16,917	177,786
1924	25,137	484,496	1932	15,076	170,240
1925	24,133	497,713	1933	22,597	195,788
1926	27,868	573,475	1934	23,526	125,941
1927	26,560	534,416	1935	26,081	220,478
1928	27,947	567,254	1936	34,581	406,393
1929	33,226	563,978			

(*Annual Reports*, Fiji, 1922-36.)

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439 the natives regained most of their economic independence. 178 However, a few trade articles such as bush knives, metal axes, 434 trade cloth, soap, and cooking pots, have so far proved indispensable, and in 1934 enough copra was produced to exchange for these bare necessities which were still obtainable at a few centers. By this time there was no regular transportation to and from southern Lau. Most of the traveling of the natives was done by sailing canoes which had been revived. Otherwise an occasional visit by a Chinese owned trade cutter to replenish the supply of trade goods, a government ship for inspection, or a wandering scientist were the only contacts with the outside world.

731 The situation caused by the depressed market of 1931 was 439 aggravated by a hurricane which hit the Fiji islands in that 435 year. Actually the lowest point in the copra depression in 245 Fiji was not reached until 1934, when the local price fell to £3.12.6 per ton.[40] Since 1934 the price and the production of copra has increased until 34,581 tons were produced at about £9.5.4 per ton in 1936. However, the price of copra was still barely high enough to cover the cost of production.

439 It is estimated that two-thirds of the 1936 copra crop in 245 Fiji was produced by natives. This indicates that the native production of copra is increasing rapidly, but native methods of drying are primitive and tend to produce a poor quality of copra which sells at lower than market price. For some years the department of agriculture has been experimenting with small cheap types of hot air dryers in an effort to perfect a type suitable for use by native producers. A type of sawn [654] timber kiln costing from £5 to £6 was first erected for demonstration purposes at the Agricultural Station at Navuso. This kiln produces copra which sells at a premium of 10s. per ton. Under government encouragement the natives are gradually becoming interested in it and this interest is spreading throughout the Fiji group. A satisfactory kiln made of

[40] It is estimated that 50% of the crop of 23,536 tons was produced by natives.

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"bush" timber which costs little more than the labor required for construction has also been introduced, but the natives prefer the more finished sawn timber type.

The government is also stimulating the copra industry among the natives of Fiji by encouraging the planting of coconut palms, by supplying seedlings for planting in areas where seed nuts are not readily available, by carrying on experiments in the breeding of early maturing types of coconuts, and by assisting in an attempt to start the manufacture of dessicated coconut in Fiji.[41]

The upswing in the copra trade has naturally had an effect on the southern Lau islands where the advance and retreat of western influence depends to a large extent on the market demand and current price. On these isolated and land-poor islands there are practically no natural resources of commercial value except the coconut. The well-being of the natives and their attainment of a new adjustment depend in a large measure upon the extent and the rate of recovery of the copra trade. Too rapid expansion of the copra industry and with it western influence had a detrimental effect on the culture. Time and slow growth are necessary to absorb new elements into the old life patterns and to establish a new adjustment to the environment.

The most significant effect of the introduction of western economy into southern Lau, however, has been a devitalizing of the native economic life due to the clash of the fundamentally opposed economic philosophies. If this is to be overcome an adjustment between the two systems must be found which will bridge the gap between them. Since, as a result of recent changes, the whole tendency has been from the old communalism toward growing individualism, the new adjustment must lead the native slowly in this direction so that he will eventually become strong enough to protect himself in the modern economic world.

[41] *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture*, Fiji, 1936, pp. 9-10.

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539 OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

Endua nomu wangga levu,
Endua nomu vuri levu.

If you have a great canoe
Great will be your labor too.[42]

000 Aside from the copra industry there is little likelihood that the islands of southern Lau will become important commercially. Hence sound economic development must lie along the lines of native economy: namely gardening, craftsmanship, and native trade.

431 554 As we have seen, the life of the native Lauan economic system lies in ceremonial gift exchange. Moreover, the *solevu* and kindred types of native exchange are the most significant channels through which the fundamental Lauan drive for prestige, formerly expressed in warfare, now may find an outlet. Any serious attempt to infuse new life into the culture must recognize the vital need of the Lauan for such expression. Stimulation of native exchange would infuse new life not only into the native economic system but also into the culture as a whole.

431 554 178 Economic policies in Fiji, however, tend to discourage ceremonial exchange. Large ceremonial exchanges and the native soliciting system have been suppressed, and the tribute demands a chief may make have been limited. Also the economic burdens of a clan have been lightened, especially during the traditional ceremonies. For instance, the time when the father of a new-born child is obliged to feed the group of female relatives who attend the mother, and when the relatives of the deceased are obliged to feed the group of mourners, has been restricted from ten to four days. Doubtless there was formerly a great deal of waste and abuse connected with the ceremonial exchange of property in Fiji, which these recent changes have tended to correct, but at the same time the corrections have been carried so far that the whole economic

[42] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 110.

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structure and, consequently, the vitality of the culture have suffered seriously.

It is easy to understand how in a group of islands with limited natural resources and inadequate food supply the economic drain of large-scale exchanges would be considered devitalizing, but as a matter of fact the opposite reaction seems to result. Reasonably heavy demands apparently act as a stimulant in a group like the southern Lau islands where production is difficult. The necessity of production against odds and of competition with rival groups gives just that stimulus necessary to avoid self-pity because of the discriminations of nature, and to attain proficiency and even superiority of craftsmanship over groups situated in a more favorable environment.

This is characteristic of the native economic life of Melanesia. In the barren Amphlett islands off the southeast coast of New Guinea, for instance, superior clay pots are made, even though the local clay is so poor that clay must be imported from Fergusson island in the D'Entrecasteaux, a day's journey by canoe. Amphlett pots are superior to any others in British New Guinea and are exported mainly in exchange for food to the Trobriands, the Marshall Bennetts, Murua, the northern islands of the Dobu people and Goodenough in the D'Entrecasteaux group, and to settlements on the mainland of New Guinea between Cape Vogel and East Cape.[43] The natives of the rocky islet of Toulon, Mailu, on the southeast coast of New Guinea are not only good potters and traders, but they are expert in the manufacture of *Conus* shell armbands, an important native trade article in the region. Not only do they collect their own supply of *Conus* shell as far east as the Louisiades, but they import armshell bands from the Massim, regrind them, and sell them along the coast to the west.[44] Further examples of the effect of unfavorable

[43] L. Tueting, "Native Trade in Southeast New Guinea," *Bishop Museum Occasional Papers*, Vol. 11, No. 15, 1935, pp. 14-15.
[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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797 in everything he undertakes. Usually when he goes to the other side of the island to conduct services he travels in state [622] in his canoe, conspicuously decorated with white cowry shells, a symbol of chieftainship. He is dressed in the height of fashion—a fresh white shirt, a black *lavalava* and a blue woolen coat, even on the most sultry day. If he travels by [554] land he walks slowly, swinging his cane, a symbol of rank. He is followed a few yards behind by his assistant, a youth who carries a small imported satchel. At the beginning of the service he takes from this satchel a Fijian Bible and a pair of spectacles set with plain glass. Attached to one rim is the price tag, which shows that the glasses were bought in the store. Before beginning to read he carefully dons the spectacles, but is no whit disturbed if, in the heat of the service, they slip down the bridge of his nose.

797 Especially did Christianity have a far-reaching effect on the 182 native social organization. The breakdown of the ancestor 631 cult undermined the inner structure of the native system of ranked clans. It took the sacredness out of chieftainship and broke the power of the tabu, which formerly maintained law and order in society. Moreover, the increased emphasis on personality rather than rank weakened the power of the chiefs. The mission tried to uphold chieftainship by encouraging the natives to pay tribute and abide by the commands of their chiefs, and the colonial officials followed mission policy. Their aim was to reinforce the power of the chiefs by appointing them as colonial officials and thus to utilize the native social system for political purposes as far as possible. However, in applying this plan, personality as well as rank had to be considered, and frequently chiefs were passed over in favor of gifted individuals of lower rank. Hence authority formerly held exclusively by the chiefs was divided between chiefs, native government officials, and native missionaries.

178 In recent times individuals deprived of hereditary power 575 and of warfare, their principal emotional outlets, have found

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new channels for self-expression in medicine, in sorcery, and in secret cults such as the "Water Babies" (*Luveniwai*, literally meaning "offspring of the water").

The "Water Babies" is a colorful secret society found in parts of Fiji. It is forbidden by the government and hence most natives deny knowledge of it. The cult is not very active in southern Lau and my impression was that most natives know very little about it. It was months before anyone would discuss it with me and I did not witness any of the secret rites. I was told, however, that the cult has a few members on some of the southern islands.

To become a member of the "Water Babies" a man must have a personal guardian spirit called a water baby, which dwells in the water or in the forest. This spirit supplies him with "mana" in the form of a special talent, such as the ability to create new dances or medicines, to predict the future, or to discover new members for the cult. To obtain a guardian spirit a man goes to the bush secretly, prepares a bowl of kava and prays to the spirits. If he is successful, one of the spirits responds by entering his body and he gains special abilities. Many young men admitted that they had tried in vain to secure a guardian spirit. Only a few individuals are favored by a response from the spirit world. The ones reputed to have guardian spirits were all restless, slightly maladjusted, and frequently gifted young men. They had apparently grown dissatisfied with the monotony of modern life and were seeking superhuman outlets for their energies.

The members of the cult propitiate their guardian spirits in the bush at night. Fantastic accounts are given of these secret rites. The votaries oil their bodies and dress in ceremonial barkcloth. They sit in a kava circle and one of them prepares kava ceremonially. The first cup of kava is poured on the ground as an offering to the spirits. The men drink the remainder of the kava and call upon their spirits with prayers and songs. Finally the spirits respond and as each

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau
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each taking yams, taro, and plantains, and some named themselves after the particular kind of yams they took, and some from the taro, and others after the plantains, each after the things they took with them when they were sent forth by the spirit (thus accounting for their plant totems), and the place from whence they departed was called Paradise. Then each dwelt in the land at which they arrived, and they settled down and multiplied . . . The common people arrived first and the chiefs followed later on."

Viewing the change in retrospect we see that the missionaries brought to Lau a foreign world view, which differed from their own mainly in its emphasis on the significance of the spiritual life of the individual soul in the next world. The Lauans were opportunists interested in obtaining "mana" expressed in prestige in this world. Success meant honor to their clan and eventual deification. The "mana" concept of the Lauans provided the bridge between the two outlooks on life. By rejection of their own ancestral gods and acceptance of a foreign God as a "mana" giver, they believed they could more effectively attain their ends. The innovation produced profound changes in their culture, especially in the social structure. Most important of these was perhaps the shift in emphasis from clan rank based on supernatural sanctions, to individual status based on social sanctions.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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000 neither ruthlessly to break down the one nor hastily to force the other. By emphasizing the individual rather than the clan, it would gradually free the individual from his kinship or clan unit and emphasize his part as an individual in the territorial unit—the village, the district, the colony, and the nation. By increasing his social responsibilities to larger groups it would expand his social horizon and gradually resolve the conflict between the old and the new social order. Hence such an educational system would help to solve the most vital problem in native administration, namely the preservation and stimulation of that zest for life, that will to power, necessary to psychical and physical health.

539 THE NEW ADJUSTMENT

Me loma vinaka na kalou
A lutu manda na tokalau.

Let the gods be of a gracious mind
And send a wind from the east.[77]

178 I HAVE ATTEMPTED to describe the changes that have been taking
182 place in the native culture of Kambara since the introduction of western civilization. We have seen that in spite of contact with western civilization a great deal of the old native culture is still very much alive. The fundamental cultural drives, although finding new outlets, persist as strongly as they did in the past. This is due mainly to several factors. As a result of the land policy of the colonial government, the link between the native culture and the natural environment, here as in other parts of Fiji, has not been broken, and the natives have been able to retain not only their old basic type of subsistence but also their economic independence and contact with old sacred places, animals, and plants. This is significant, for when a culture retains its physical setting it may achieve a new balance more easily in spite of its changing content. Moreover,

[77] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 144.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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however,
because of the British policy of indirect rule, the native social system of ranked clans upheld by elaborate ceremonies centering in a divine high chief is the basis for the new political organization, and the natives have not lost their sense of social security in spite of the modern trend away from kinship toward geographic political units. Furthermore, the native population here as in all parts of Fiji is increasing, which is due in part at least to the government's systematic campaign for the control of disease in the colony and the promotion of sanitation and health. 178 182 648

The main administrative problems in Lau, as in many other parts of the Pacific, are the inevitable outgrowths of the attempt to blend two cultures—one relatively simple, the other complex—as fundamentally different as the Fijian and the western. As far as administration is concerned, the main conflicts between them are: kinship versus territorial bonds; rank versus status; and communalism versus individualism. As we have seen, these closely related conflicts may be resolved through the growing emphasis on personality. It is the rôle of the administrator in Lau to direct and control the process of change toward the development of personality in order to bridge the gulf between the two outlooks on life and, by blending the old and the new, to work slowly toward a new harmonious adjustment.

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4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

175 rice, tea, and oil. As they acquired a taste for European trade goods, they began to neglect their other economic pursuits such as fishing, gardening, canoe building, and interisland trade. Men, women, and children worked on the plantations belonging to their sibs. There followed a period of prosperity which lasted until the copra slump after the World War.

Then the copra trade in Lau ended abruptly. Communication with the outside world was cut, and the natives found themselves no longer in a position to secure many trade goods upon which they had become dependent.

PERIOD 5

A new period began. Neglected gardens were cleared and replanted, native crafts began to flourish, trade between the islands revived, and the whole daily routine resembled olden days. The hereditary master fisherman, whose title is determined by rank, regained control of the communal fishing. The first fruits of the harvest were again presented, but now to the old chief and the native colonial official jointly,[103] while in the first and second periods they had been offered to the gods and in the third to the chiefs. Large, single sailing canoes, with improved rigging due to western influence, have replaced the cutter but the double canoe has disappeared. Wooden bowls are made in large quantities but with less skill than in olden days. The tapa and mat making industries are again flourishing and native rope, fish lines, and fish nets are replacing imported articles.

Now the natives have regained most of their old economic independence. A few articles are still imported. Metal axes and bush knives have become quite indispensable, and it would be very difficult for the Lauans to give up trade cloth and cooking pots. Today axes, bush knives, cooking pots, and trade cloth form practically the only economic ties which link southern Lau with the outside world.

British political control is being adjusted more and more to the old order, high ranking families are receiving more attention, and a new pattern of social values is in process of formation.

As far as religion is concerned, the outer forms of Christianity have been incorporated into the native ceremonial life, but the inner conflict, caused by the weakening of the ancestor cult, has not yet been satisfactorily solved. This conflict tends to sap vitality from the culture. It is to a great extent responsible for the restlessness of the natives, in spite of their growing economic and social stability.

Reviewing the culture history of Lau we find:

178 The first great merging was of a simple, indigenous Melanesian type of culture with a highly organized, intrusive Micronesian-Polynesian

[103] Witnessed in Tokalau, Kambara.

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

type.[184] The intrusion consisted of one movement (probably extending over a relatively short period of time) and was carried by a group of immigrants from the west, who settled permanently in Lau. The process of adaptation of the two cultures was relatively undisturbed for several generations. The organization pattern of the immigrants gradually affected nearly every phase of the indigenous culture and in time the typical Lauan configuration emerged. The two cultures were sufficiently similar so that a fusion, based on common traits, could take place and sufficiently different so that the result was a new configuration. With the blending of the intrusive culture with the indigenous one, the essential outlines of Lauan culture were set. 178 ●

The next strong influence in Lauan culture came from Tonga in the east. Tongan elements were introduced into Lau by individuals or by small groups of traders, carpenters, adventurers, and warriors, many of whom later returned to Tonga. The two cultures, namely, the strongly Polynesianized Lauan and the adjacent Polynesian Tongan, were of the same general type, and the result of contact was an elaboration of the social ceremonial and technology of Lau. Tongan influence was checked by European penetration before it had been thoroughly assimilated; it affected the outer form but not the inner constellation of Lauan culture.

The last great intrusion of exotic elements into Lau, namely European civilization, was brought by missionaries, political officers, and traders. Contact with such a totally dissimilar culture weakened the inner structure of the Lauan configuration. For this the new religion was especially responsible. Changes appeared first in the religious, then the social, and finally the economic life. The cultural equilibrium was seriously disturbed but a breakdown was averted by the sudden isolation of the islands resulting from a change in economic conditions in Europe and America. This forced the natives back to economic independence and allowed the culture time for readjustment toward the creation of a new balance.

HONOLULU, T.H.

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[184] Hocart (Man, No. 43, 1915) states that the island of Viti Levu may be divided by a natural barrier of mountains into two culture areas, the western and the eastern. In the western area he found a culture which he briefly characterizes by the following traits: simple social organization, petty chiefs, the Nanga secret society, the square house, the favorite number 5, and barkcloth made in the interior by men. This culture he calls Low Fijian. In the eastern area he found what he calls the High Fijian culture. It is characterized by elaborate social organization, great sacred chiefs, the oblong house, the favorite number 4, barkcloth made by women on the coast, and canoes. This two-fold, geographical picture of the culture of Viti Levu corresponds in general to the historical picture of the first two periods in Lau. 184

[pp 198-end, not processed]

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

in quantity to fulfill the needs of the group, without placing undue burden on either sex or on any one individual. The method of sharing the feast tends toward a systematic, equitable distribution of food within the household group.

Now it should be noted that, for the self-maintenance of this diet pattern, each household must have access to three types of resources: namely, garden land, bush, and fishing grounds. With this point in mind, let us glance at the system of land use in southern Lau.[18] After the British took over the Fiji Islands in 1874 and peace was established between native factions, the clan-hamlets moved out of the interior of the Lau islands and settled on adjacent lots on the windward[19] shores, forming coastal villages. But they kept their ancient land divisions and proprietary clan rights. Volcanic islands like Mothe were divided into pie-shaped sections bounded by natural ridges which separate the fertile valleys, and each clan had the use of the garden lands, uplands, and fishing grounds of the section wherein its hamlet had formerly been located. On limestone islands like Fulanga where the valley and ridge conformation is absent, land sections were not pie-shaped; but a similar principle of land division nonetheless prevailed. Formerly the bush and fishing grounds in the vicinity of each site occupied by a clan-hamlet, its jungle fruits, garden lands, and other resources belonged to the hamlet. Each household within a clan-hamlet had the use of a piece of the hamlet's garden lands and all the households of the hamlet together had access to the hamlet's bush and fishing grounds.

After the establishment of coast villages, the bush and fishing grounds belonging to the clans of a village were used in common by the whole village group, but the ancient division of garden lands by clans and households persisted. Furthermore, certain clans or villages claim ownership of one or more of the small uninhabited limestone islands in the community. For example, Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali village on Kambara claims the island of Wangava and its members supplement the crops they raise on their meager garden lands on Kambara with those they raise on Wangava, and also use Wangava's rather extensive forest and lake products. Undu village on Kambara claims ownership of the island of Marambo and uses its resources. Indeed, all the uninhabited islands of the community are claimed and used to supplement the resources of the owning groups. Thus the land use system of Lau is closely related to the basic ecological arrangement of the area and functions to insure a balanced distribution of various types of island resources among the local groups of each island and to render accessible to each household means of obtaining a balanced daily diet.

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[18] For details *see* Thompson, 1940a, 1940b.

[19] Except Tokalau and Lomatchi located on Kambara's leeward shore near the anchorage.

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

13 Another institution which is part of the total system under discussion is the
431 intervillage ceremonial exchange, called *solevu*. Food from the volcanic islands
438 is exchanged for craft goods such as mats, barkcloth, wooden bowls and canoes from the limestone islands, by means of the *solevu*, a complicated pattern of exchange between related villages based on an adaptation of the ancient ceremony used in the presentation of first fruits, mentioned above. Along with the public ceremonial exchange of goods between the two participating villages, there occurs during the four days of the *solevu* a certain amount of private exchange of gifts and barter between related individuals from the two villages. This gives a high degree of flexibility to the arrangement. The *solevu* also provides an occasion for the exchange of feasts, dances, and songs between the two groups and for intervillage games and sports.

The institution of the *solevu* functions not only to provide a pleasant interlude in the daily routine of hard work necessary to group survival in southern Lau, but also as an efficient and self-regulatory "mechanism" to stimulate production of food and craft articles and to expand the system of distribution of each island to include a group of both limestone and volcanic islands whose complementary resources form a natural trade area. We have noted how the institutions of the crop custodian and the master fisherman, in the ecological context of each island, function traditionally to increase in size and nutritive value the local food supply and operate toward its more equitable distribution. We now observe that the *solevu* provides an integrating, logical link in the total productive and distributive system which unites the various islands of the community into a balanced, interdependent and co-operative whole whereby sectional differences in resources are transformed into assets and each group, regardless of its resources, is enabled to obtain what it needs for a balanced diet and economy.

13 The importance of the *solevu* in the total economy of southern Lau is
431 brought into relief by the effect of its prohibition by the Colonial Government.
438 Some years ago British officials outlawed large ceremonial exchanges in Fiji,
178 because, it was said, they thought such a prohibition would prevent waste of needed energy and resources. Doubtless, in other parts of Fiji, where food is more plentiful, there was a wastage of resources in connection with the *solevu*. The effect of the regulation in the community under consideration, however, was not to abolish the *solevu* but rather to reduce the number of *solevus* held in the area. This in turn tended to reduce the output of craft goods, especially mats and barkcloth, the main *solevu* craft goods. According to the local division of labor, mats and barkcloth are made by the women, who also tend the babies, care for the houses, and, as noted above, procure and prepare part of the food. The men, on the other hand, besides their food producing and cooking functions already noted, hunt and fish with spears, care for the pigs, build and sail large sea-going canoes, trade between islands, and produce wooden bowls and

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

sennit. This nice balance of labor between the sexes in Lau has been disturbed by the diminution in the production of women's crafts, due mainly to the government's prohibition of the *solevu*, the women being left with a considerable amount of time on their hands which they formerly used in creative activity. The men, on the other hand, tend to labor more than ever, trying to compensate for the diminished food supply. But since garden lands are insufficient in quantity and quality on most islands to cover the needs of the population without importing food, regardless of the amount of energy expended in gardening by native methods, food is scarcer than ever. It should be added that, although the supply of hardwoods, found only on the limestones, is limited, there seems to be little danger that the forests will be depleted by the small amount of timber cut for canoes and craft goods by means of native technology. Thus, instead of operating to prevent wastage of energy and resources, the prohibition of the *solevu* actually operates toward throwing out of line the nicely adjusted system of food production and distribution and the balanced sexual division of labor in the community, reducing the work and creativity of the women, increasing the work of the men, and engendering a food shortage on many of the islands.

The entire system of production and distribution described above, it should be noted, is basically accommodative and co-operative, and it is effected with a minimum of coercion, since rewards in the form of group prestige go automatically to the group (and incidentally also to the individual) who willingly gives or contributes most to the whole. Stinginess means loss of prestige. Within the system, however, rivalry between groups functions as a creative stimulus toward the goal of increased production of high quality products and more equitable distribution of these to the whole community. Apparently it is an indispensable ingredient contributing toward the self-maintenance and self-regulation of the system. Moreover, institutionalized, competitive group-giving prevents the development of an economic monopoly which might otherwise emerge in an area where the distribution of local resources is irregular and where rank and status are highly developed. Under it not even the chiefs may keep their tribute but rather, under penalty of losing face, must redistribute it to their followers. Thus, traditionally, the system prevents the accumulation of wealth in the hands of any one group or individual, and it insures that community resources will remain available to the whole group for immediate use according to need.

Before concluding we should note one more point which is vital to an understanding of the Lauan system of production and distribution described above. Despite its fine adjustment to the ecological setting and its basically self-perpetuating nature, this system could not operate effectively unless it were counterbalanced by a psychocultural arrangement which functioned to regulate and limit the size of the human population in relation to the resources of

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
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The Polynesians always had the idea of an original home "across the seas" that they came from, though in course of time this became merely legendary, and was blended into fantastic stories of the gods. In the Lau Islands they formerly buried their chiefs in great canoes, dragged by hundreds of willing hands into almost inaccessible caves; and the canoe was "ready for the chief to return to his ancestral home." Even in these modern days, when all the natives have been for three generations "converted," I have seen a canoe burial (though with all Christian rites, and in the ordinary burying ground), on a distant little island, Komo, in the Lau group.

It is very probable that the Malay origin, if a true one, was exceedingly remote—remote enough even to account for physical changes in the appearance of the race. One interesting point has been noted in connection with this: the drinking of "toddy," the fermented juice of the young shoots of the coco-nut palm, was practised in the Malay Peninsula at least three thousand years ago, and ancient Chinese writings mention it as being so. But "toddy" drinking is a comparatively recent affair in Polynesia, tending to show that the separation from the ancestral home must have occurred at least three thousand years ago.

But the theory that the Polynesians *did* spring from Malay stock, even at such an early date,